

THE BLACK PANTHER

INTERCOMMUNAL NEWS SERVICE

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25¢



APPEALS COURT ORDERS

NEW SAN QUENTIN 6 MURDER TRIAL



JOHNNY LARRY SPAIN



HUGO PINELL



WILLIE TATE



DAVID JOHNSON



LUIS TALAMIENTEZ



FLEETA DRUMGO

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Editorial

NO SOLUTION TO THE PROBLEM

Black and poor people in this country have never wanted to be on welfare. We are not a "lazy, shiftless" people but have always had to and have been willing to work hard to provide life's daily necessities for our children and loved ones.

Nevertheless, the racism prevailing in this society has historically denied us equal employment opportunities. Since we must eat and have a roof over our heads, we have been forced to receive public assistance—welfare. A system purposefully designed by the power structure to strip poor people of their human dignity and pride, welfare has been our only salvation, the only means, however inadequate, of survival for many of us.

However, welfare as we now know it may soon come to an end. Plans are afoot to introduce legislation in Congress to end state-controlled welfare programs and replace them with a federally run tax credit system administered by the Internal Revenue Service (IRS).

A House subcommittee which conducted a three-year study of the American welfare system last week recommended ending the Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) program and food stamps. The proposed IRS-run tax credit program would provide a total of \$3,600 in grants and tax credits to a poverty-stricken family of four with two adults and \$3,000 for a family of four with one adult.

According to Rep. Martha W. Griffiths, who released the House study, the proposed new program would cost the federal government \$157.4 billion annually, compared with the estimated \$142 billion being spent in the current fiscal year on such social service programs as welfare, health, education and social security.

The present welfare system clearly needs to go. However, replacing it with a new kind of welfare system, this time run directly by the federal government, is not the solution to the problem. □



'Oh, him?... Well, heck, we only turn him loose when it's necessary.'

Letters to the Editor

Dear Editor and Black Panther Staff,

Writing this letter to thank you for starting to send me your most interesting paper. But it just so happens the first paper I got which came today was taken by the Pigs for something in the November 16th issue on page 5. So I thought I'd bring it to your attention so you'll know how they like to f_____ with us. I'm also sending you this copy to prove I wasn't given this paper. Write back and let one know what you think? Plus please keep sending the papers cause I'll get them eventually.

Thank You Very Much for Your Time and Help
The Struggle Moves Forward!
Comrade Dee Jay
John D. Ferrer
P.O. Box B55006
Soledad, California 93960

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COMMENT

EDUCATION FOR WHAT?

The following is an edited extract from a paper delivered by Vincent Harding, director of the Institute of the Black World, to a conference of Black public school administrators and superintendents.

The traditional purpose of education has been to maintain and justify the existing social order. In many historical settings, the educational system has been created and supported to develop the leaders who would essentially preserve the values and arrangements of the system through their leadership and direct initiative.

In our own increasingly mass-oriented, consumption-defined society, education is geared instead to the creation of a receptive audience, a ready market, an unquestioning following—a body of women and men who are ready to accept what is given, sold or told to them. In a society with the facades of democracy, the purpose of education is to establish psychological, political and economic bulwarks against the possibility that any significant portion of the people would raise and consistently pursue hard, critical questions about the very nature of the democracy itself.

Against such pressures, which are deep within the mainstream of American education, I would propose this way to answer the question: *education for what?* In the light of our potential ties to the oppressed and exploited peoples in the non-White world, I say that the education we support must be for other purposes. Recognizing the dangers involved, I say that the education we support should be education for creative dissent, for disciplined disruption and transformation of America as we know it.

Let me quickly say that I am not talking about "doing-your-own-thingism," nor about romantic terrorism, or a revolutionary rhetoric which has no disciplined, historically based substance. I am certainly not speaking about a goal which is to be quickly or painlessly realized.

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THE BLACK PANTHER

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YEARLY DOMESTIC SUBSCRIPTION RATES: \$8.75 APPLICATION TO MAIL AT SECOND-CLASS POSTAGE RATES PENDING IN OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA

ADJUSTMENT CENTER PRISONERS BYPASSED

The following letter was written to Mr. Richard Helm, a special assistant to California's governor-elect, Jerry Brown, in response to his failure to investigate conditions within San Quentin's notorious Adjustment Center (AC), during a recent tour he made of the prison facility. The letter, signed by 14 of the 17 prison inmates confined on the AC's first tier—including the Black and Brown brothers known as the San Quentin 6—speaks for all prison inmates, eloquently reminding Mr. Helm of the hopes and desires of people behind bars and the horrors they must face while confined there.

Mr. Helm,

Greetings from the San Quentin Adjustment Center.

Recently we heard aired over KSQ-RADIO your talk given in connection with your visit to the prison facility Friday. Your talk was of interest to us. At the same time we were disgusted to learn that you did not—or were actually diverted from—visiting us here in the A/C by being given a "story."

We feel its fair to say that such practices at San Quentin are common and trust you to make a fuller attempt next time to get into us.

Most of us down here have actually been waiting years upon years now for responsible government to once again surface and for sensitive and conscientious people to come into position who will truly be concerned for us and not just keep us hidden away in these dungeons as the present dictatorship has been doing—forgetting that we're human.

At present we are not able to look to anyone to aid us, other than some few courts of jurisdiction. A good percentage of we, the undersigned on this tier alone, have pending writs and civil suits against our prison keepers and the situation of our confinement and manner to which we are subjected as prisoners of the state of California. (Note: The San Quentin Six—Johnny Spain, Hugo Pinell, Luis Talamentez, David Johnson, Fleeta Drumgo, Willie Tate—have a suit pending in federal court

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SAN QUENTIN SIX

APPEALS COURT ORDERS

NEW SAN QUENTIN 6 MURDER TRIAL

(San Francisco, Calif.) — The quashing of murder indictments against the San Quentin 6 was reversed last week by the state district court of appeals in what attorney Charles Garry called "a terrible blow" to their legal defense rights.

The ruling means that, pending appeal, the six Black and Brown brothers — Johnny Spain, Hugo Pinell (both members of the Black Panther Party), Luis Talamentez, Fleeta Drumgo, David Johnson and Willie Tate — must stand trial as the state's scapegoats for the murder of three San Quentin prison guards and two inmate trustees killed in the process of carrying out the assassination of Black Panther Party Field Marshall George Jackson on September 21, 1971.

It was almost one year ago, in January, 1974, that Judge Vernon Stoll, serving in a visiting capacity in Marin County Superior Court, quashed the charges against the Six on the grounds that the grand jury which indicted them "did not represent a cross-section of the community."

In his unprecedented decision, Judge Stoll said that the grand jury selection process "did not assure a fair representation...of Blacks, Latin Americans, blue-collar working class and the young." The decision was hailed at the time it was issued as one with far-reaching implications in legal defense moves to combat the notorious racism and ethnic imbalance of the grand jury system.

Contacted immediately after

last week's reversal, Charles Garry, the noted San Francisco defense attorney who is handling the case of Johnny Larry Spain, told THE BLACK PANTHER that he intended to ask the appeals court to rehear the matter, and, if they refuse, to take the case to the state Supreme Court.

Garry explained that, "What the court actually said is that the (Marin County) judges did not intentionally keep out of the grand jury any group. Of course, that's not the law. The law is not that they intentionally did it. Whether they did it by intention or by nonaction, or by inadvertence, the conditions are the same — the clients were prevented from having a cross-section of the community on the grand jury."

MURDER TALE

Garry explained that what was at issue was the composition of the grand jury which brought the state's fabricated tale of murder during an alleged "escape attempt," and that any other consideration was inconsequential. (The grand jury which issued the indictment was middle-aged and all-White.)

The appeals court ruling does not directly affect a suit pending in federal district court here that the continued confinement of the Six in San Quentin's Adjustment Center violates their Eighth Amendment Constitutional rights and is "cruel and unusual punishment." □

SAN QUENTIN'S B-UNIT TO BE CLOSED

(Tamal, Calif.) — San Quentin's B-Section, a maximum-security lock-up repeatedly criticized by state law makers as "unclean and unsafe," is to be closed, according to the *San Quentin News*, the prison's inmate-run newsletter. However, the newsletter also reports that of the 230 prisoners formerly in B-Section, most have been transferred to newly-expanded maximum-security units in other prisons.

In November, 1973, the state assembly committee on prison reform investigated the conditions in B-Section and issued a recommendation that the unit be closed immediately.

Jerry Haleva, senior consultant to the assembly committee, charges investigators found B-Section unfit for human habitation. "It was filthy, rodent-infested and the smell of human excrement was all over," Haleva said in an interview.

The *News* says that 90 prisoners are still being confined in B-Section's 9-foot by 5-foot cells, which had been converted into a "protective custody" unit.

NEW PROGRAM AT COMMUNITY LEARNING CENTER

FREE LEGAL AID CLASS DISCUSSES JUVENILE LAW

(Oakland, Calif.) - The first free law discussion sponsored by the Free Legal Aid and Educational Program and held at the Community Learning Center last week featured two distinguished attorneys from the Charles Huston Law Club who spoke on "Juvenile Law" and "Criminal Procedure." At the session, attorneys Ben Travis and Belvin Smith gave highly informative talks on a number of legal problems, particularly as they concern the Black community.

Brother Travis began by explaining some of the police state-type practices which the police are legally permitted to use, and which they do, in fact, often use against Black people. He said, for example, that police can stop a car for something such as a burnt out taillight and can arrest the people in the car if they see something illegal inside the car.

In the area of juvenile law, the attorneys said that young people suspected of committing a crime lack the same rights as older suspects. For instance, they said, juveniles cannot get out on bail.

Denial of the rights of the accused to juveniles stopped when the court system stopped labeling young suspects "crimi-

nals," they said. But when it stopped labeling them "criminals," it also took away their rights, although it continued to treat them as criminals.

The institution of a bail program and jury trials would assure that juveniles receive more justice, the lawyers pointed out. A suitable bail program would be an OR program in which the suspect can be released on his own recognizance.

Since there is no bail, the juvenile is generally forced to spend about 10 days in jail before he is released, a practice which results in the juvenile harboring a life long attitude against "the system," the lawyers said.

The attorneys also described the need for a program to get specialists to testify in behalf of Blacks. They pointed out that judges are usually White and that White juvenile defendants who get specialists to testify in their behalf, are usually released.

The White judge could get a balanced profile of the Black defendant if a program were instituted in which Black suspects could utilize the services of specialists such as psychologists, psychiatrists, sociologists and probation officers. The specialists could testify that the Black defendant would better serve the community if he were placed in some type of program rather than go to jail. The testimony of such



'Mister, the Supreme Court says if you drive with a burnt-out taillight, you belong to us.'

specialists would keep judges from always immediately locking up Black defendants.

The Charles Huston Law Club, whose members conduct the legal classes at the Learning Center, is a group of Black Bay Area attorneys who feel that the White Bar Association fails to satisfy the needs of Black lawyers.

In addition to pursuing various social and civil rights objectives, the Club members banded together to increase their earning power, enhance their knowledge of the law and exchange ideas.

The Law Club also conducts an educational program on television and a referral service to direct people in the community to an appropriate attorney.

The law discussions are open to anyone who is interested and take place on Thursdays from 7 to 9 p.m. at the Community Learning Center, 6118 E. 14th Street, Oakland. □

**"Until We're Free"**

A powerful, yet tender and important new album by Elaine Brown. The songs on the album weave a beautiful tapestry of protest against the quality of life for Black Americans. Listeners will find themselves engulfed in a flow of emotion as Elaine's melodic voice works its magic. Once you have heard "Until We're Free", you will understand why Huey P. Newton says: "A consuming talent, a total dedication and a proven commitment are combined in Elaine Brown, making her the first, genuine People's Artist America has produced."

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SONS OF LITE AND RAFFLE DRAWING FEATURED AT CELEBRATION SERVICES

(Oakland, Calif.) - The SONS OF LITE, a well known Bay Area jazz quartet, was featured in the Son of Man Temple celebration service last week. The day was highlighted by a raffle drawing for a portable TV, the culmination of a fund-raising for the Intercommunal Youth Institute. The winner was Russell Knee of Alameda.

THIS WEEK IN BLACK HISTORY

DECEMBER 15-16, 1864

In one of the decisive battles of the Civil War, two brigades of Black troops helped crush one of the South's finest armies at the Battle of Nashville in the state of Tennessee on December 15-16, 1864.

DECEMBER 12, 1870

Joseph Rainey, the first Black man to serve in the U.S. House of Representatives, was officially sworn in as the congressman from South Carolina on December 12, 1870.

DECEMBER 12, 1938

On December 12, 1938, the Supreme Court ruled that states must provide equal educational facilities for all Black students within their boundaries. Brother Lloyd Gaines, the plaintiff in the case, "mysteriously" disappeared after the ruling and has never been located or heard from again.

DECEMBER 11, 1960

In a historic and memorable confrontation in the heart of the unofficial capital city of the South, several thousand Black demonstrators held two mass prayer meetings and then marched on the business district of Atlanta, Georgia, in protest against segregation and discrimination on December 11, 1960.

DECEMBER 12-16, 1961

More than 700 demonstrators, including the Reverend Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., were arrested for openly defying local ordinances and participating in five mass antidiscrimination marches at the city hall building in Albany, Georgia, on December 12 through 16, 1961. The arrests triggered the militant Albany Movement which continued to stage large and bold demonstrations well into 1962.

BLIND, AGED, DISABLED DEMAND MORE FUNDS

(Sacramento, Calif.) — On Monday, December 2, over 150 disabled, blind and aged citizens gathered here to protest Governor Ronald Reagan's funding cut of the Attendant Care/Home-maker Program by \$25 million.

The Attendant Care/Home-maker Program provides money to disabled, blind and aged people to hire in-home attendants to assist them in taking care of themselves and in household chores so that they can live normal lives outside of understaffed, unequipped institutions.

Without sufficient funds to allow the Program to service their needs, many of the 60,000 beneficiaries of this Program will be totally helpless and therefore forced to enter homes or state institutions. Others may be able to depend on friends or families, but their ability to be independent, self-sufficient human beings will be ended.

San Francisco County Welfare Director Ronald Born reports that his department is approximately \$2.6 million short of adequately meeting the needs of disabled and senior citizens in his area.

Born adds that San Francisco County will run out of money for the Program by March, 1975, unless additional funds are acquired.

San Diego County faces a deficit of \$2 million and, as a result, 25 per cent of the persons serviced by the Program will be terminated. Los Angeles County is \$3.9 million short and estimates that it will run out of funds completely by March or April of 1975.

Presently, the Attendant Care/Homemaker Program offers a maximum of \$450 a month for in-home attendant care. Recipients point out, however, that today's high prices coupled with the fact that none of the established programs for general care — Social Security, disability, welfare — are adequately funded, make survival difficult.

The demonstrators said they are appealing to California's governor-elect Edmund (Jerry) Brown to overturn Reagan's "lame duck" decision and provide assurances that he will uplift the standard of living for blind, disabled and aged California citizens, who have a right to live fruitful, constructive lives. □

5,000 RALLY IN BOSTON

"RACISM BEHIND DESIRE TO MAINTAIN SCHOOL SEGREGATION"

(Boston, Mass.) — Declaring that racism, not antibusing sentiment, was behind the White community's opposition to court-ordered integration of Boston schools, close to 5,000 people, including Mrs. Coretta Scott King, marched and rallied in support of the school desegregation program here last week.

Last week's demonstrators, most of them White, gathered in front of a statue commemorating Black Civil War enlistees, where they sang civil rights songs and were addressed by speakers. "Can anyone believe that people using or condoning violence as well as vulgar racial epithets are making a democratic protest against busing?" Mrs. King asked. "No. They are making an undemocratic assault on equality."

The school-busing controversy has featured mob street violence by Whites attempting to keep Black children out of segregated schools in South Boston, and massive White absenteeism from

school in protest of the integration order.

Heralded by choruses of "We Shall Not Be Moved," Mrs. King said it was important for everyone, including those not committed to busing, to oppose attacks on school integration. "The conduct of certain opponents of busing has made the issue one of racism in its broadest aspects," she said.

Organized by the Committee for Integrated Quality Education, the march was billed as an example of bi-racial cooperation. A number of speakers urged the crowd to "show that the bigots do not rule the streets of Boston."

Meanwhile, the December 14, Boston Freedom March "has received enthusiastic response across the nation," reports the Emergency Committee for a National Mobilization Against Racism, coordinator of the upcoming rally.

The Emergency Committee for a National Mobilization Against Racism said of the upcoming



CORETTA SCOTT KING.

December 14 march: "We ourselves were quite surprised by the enthusiasm the mobilization has received. We think that this clearly shows that people in this country will not be represented in Boston by racist extremists or controlled by mob-rule."

According to a press release by the Committee, 22 cities have formed Emergency Committees in the last three weeks, including nine southern states, almost all of which were sites of racial hysteria 15 years ago.

BAY AREA

In the Bay Area, a support protest will be held on Saturday December 14, at 12:00 noon, at the Federal Building in San Francisco.

Some 500 individuals and 60 national and local organizations have endorsed the Boston activities and more than 2,000 colleges and universities across the country have been urged to participate in the March. □

PUERTO RICAN LEADER

WINS SECOND

BAIL CONTINUANCE

(New York, N.Y.) — Declaring himself "...an open example of the part played by the capitalist press in their conspiracy with the FBI, the New York police and the district attorney to smear and frame up Puerto Rican patriots ..." Carlos Feliciano, Puerto Rican nationalist leader, won for the second time a continuance on bail while appealing a four-year sentence on trumped up bomb charges.

An article in the *New York Daily News* said that Feliciano tried to blow up an army recruiting station in the Bronx with two pipe bombs concealed in French bread loaves. Feliciano said he will ask his lawyer William Kunstler to sue the *News* for slander. □



People marching in Boston in support of school desegregation.

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FALL 1974 ISSUE

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Fall



Black youth in public schools have had to take I.Q. tests which do not reflect their cultural background.

I.Q. TESTS FOR BLACK CHILDREN ORDERED ENDED

(San Francisco, Calif.) — Federal District Court Judge Robert F. Peckham ruled recently that all the school districts in the state of California must stop giving I.Q. tests to Black school children.

The decision is based upon the determination that all such tests presently given to school children are culturally biased and do not properly take into account the cultural background and experiences of Black children.

By state law, standardized intelligence tests were given to all students enrolled in public schools before they can be placed in classes for the educable mentally retarded. School officials throughout the state have, in the past, relied upon the I.Q. test results to label many normal Black children as mentally retarded.

PSYCHOLOGISTS

Three psychologists, Drs. Harold Dent, William Pierce, and Gerald West, who are members of the Bay Area Association of Black Psychologists, re-evaluated these children and found that they were not retarded, but actually of at least normal intelligence and did not belong in those classes.

As a result, the lawsuit was filed by attorneys from Public Advocates, Inc., San Francisco Neighborhood Legal Assistance Foundation, and the NAACP Legal Defense Fund, on behalf of all Black school children in California who have been or may in the future be classified as mentally retarded.

School districts like San Francisco and Los Angeles, which have 25 to 30 per cent Black children in their schools, have classes for the retarded which are 60 per cent Black. Throughout the state of California, approximately nine per cent of the children in the schools are Black yet 25 per

cent of the students in the classes for the retarded are Black.

A discussion of percentages alone does not adequately convey the serious nature and awesome magnitude of the problem. In the school year 1972-1973, there were approximately 5,600 normal Black children labelled retarded and placed or retained in the special education classes.

The consequences to these children have been devastating. These are Black children of normal intelligence, who have been wrongfully labelled retarded and that fact has been noted on their permanent school record, available to future teachers as the children progress through school, to governmental authorities, and even to employers.

The most destructive consequences, however, is the

impact that being labelled retarded has on these children's self-image of their own worth and ability and their future. They are frequently called "dummy" and "idiot" and their teachers and parents accept the judgment of so-called objective I.Q. tests that these children are inferior in their mental abilities.

Despite what has been happening to these children, the State Department of Education has refused to act and even publicly stated that it would do nothing until ordered by the Court. This stance of the Department of Education, according to a press release distributed by the Public Advocates firm, demonstrates the institutional racism that Black people are constantly subjected to in schools and all areas of society. □



GOVERNMENT AIDS CONSTRUCTION INDUSTRY RACISM

(Washington, D.C.) — National Labor Director Herbert Hill has charged that the federal government has knowingly aided and abetted discriminatory racial practices in the construction industry.

In the current issue of Civil Rights Digest, a quarterly published by the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights (an independent, bipartisan fact-finding agency concerned with the rights of women and minorities), Hill asserts that several federally-financed construction programs "have served the interests of restrictive labor unions but not the interests of Black and other minority workers." See next week's issue of THE BLACK PANTHER for full details of Director Hill's report.

PEOPLE'S PERSPECTIVE

BLACK KILLER

(Dallas, Texas) — The number one killer of Black people, the disease hypertension (high blood pressure), is not being treated properly, according to Dr. Jay N. Cohn of the University of Minnesota. "Many physicians are not giving adequate therapy, either by giving the wrong amount of drugs or using the wrong therapy. Hypertension was not taught very well in medical schools and many physicians didn't get much training in its treatment."

F.B.I. PROBE

(Washington, D.C.) — For the first time in history, Congress is sending its own investigators into the FBI's secret file to judge the effectiveness and legality of FBI operations. Requested by the House Judiciary Committee, the probe will focus first on the most controversial issue of FBI domestic spying.

WOMEN WIN

(Seattle, Wash.) — Safeco Insurance Co. has agreed to pay \$1 million in back pay to past and present women employees throughout the country who charge they were victims of sex discrimination. The agreement was the result of a sex discrimination lawsuit filed more than two years ago against the company, which employs about 15,000 women.

"SPY" FILES

(Washington, D.C.) — Smith College Professor Allen Weinstein has charged FBI Director Clarence Kelly with ignoring a Justice Department rule and his own promise to turn over secret files on the Alger Hiss and Julius and Ethel Rosenberg cases, which concerned the alleged giving of "secrets" to the Soviet Union and both of which were used by a young and aspiring congressman named Richard Nixon for his personal political gain. Professor Weinstein expected to get the files after former Attorney General Elliot Richardson issued regulations granting historians access to files more than 15 years old and no longer related to pending investigations.

FEDERAL GOVERNMENT INVOLVEMENT IN BEHAVIOR MODIFICATION LACKS SAFEGUARDS

(Washington, D.C.) - "There is a real question whether the government should be involved at all in programs that potentially pose substantial threats to our basic freedoms."

So wrote Senator Sam Ervin in the preface to a 651-page report released last week by the Senate Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights which for three years investigated the federal government's involvement in behavior control technology.

Ominously, Senator Ervin's preface added, "The question becomes even more acute when these programs are conducted, as they are today, in the absence of strict controls."

As reported in the *San Francisco Examiner*, the Subcommittee found that, justified by the rationale of attempting to control so-called "antisocial behavior," the federal government finances human experimentation involving: psychosurgery (brain surgery); drugs; radio transmitters implanted in the subject's head; and others.

The report specifically mentioned the Department of Health, Education and Welfare (HEW), the Justice Department, the Veterans Administration, the Defense Department, the Labor Department and the National Science Foundation as federal agencies involved in, and financing, behavior modification programs. The Subcommittee, however, seemingly fell short of openly condemning the practice of financing these programs.

In one part, the report quotes a Florida high school counselor, explaining the results of a HEW-funded drug treatment program called "The Seed":

"When they (the student 'seedlings') return, they are 'straight,' namely quiet...they seem to be living in a robot-like atmosphere, they won't speak to anyone outside their own group. Seedlings seem to have a system of communication on each other that is similar to Nazi Germany. They run in to use the telephone daily, to report against each other to 'The Seed.'"

The report stressed that the government's behavior modification projects generally lacked "a review structure fully adequate to protect the Constitutional rights of the subjects." □

FORD URGES SLASHES IN MONEY FOR POOR

FOUR VETOES OVERRIDDEN BY CONGRESS

(Washington, D.C.) - Minorities and the poor are the worst hit by the current economic depression, yet President Ford has proposed that billions be slashed from the budgets of social welfare programs, which, even now, fail to meet the needs of the skyrocketing numbers of poor people in the country.

The proposed spending cuts come at a time of stiff opposition from Congress for such Presidential economy moves, and at a time when the worsening economy has increased the pressures on Congress to maintain or increase existing social programs for the poor.

Ford has established the worst batting average in veto confrontations with Congress of any President in this century. Of Ford's 15 vetoes, in the four months he has been in office, four have been overridden by Congress.

The proposed budget cuts, which total \$4.6 billion, include a \$1.7 billion reduction in medical and welfare programs administered by the Department of Health, Education and Welfare (HEW); a \$1.1 billion decrease in the Veterans Administration budget; and a \$325 million cutback in the food stamp program, administered by the Department of Agriculture.

The cuts would mean that more poor people would be denied welfare, that welfare recipients would receive less money, that the poor would have to pay more for food stamps and the elderly would have to face increased payments for their medical bills.

In contrast to the billions Ford wants to deny social programs, he



During his four months in office President FORD has had more veto confrontations with Congress than any President in this century.



proposed that Defense Department spending and other spending be reduced by a mere \$381 million.

Ford's proposal to cut \$1.1 billion from the Veterans Administration budget comes after Congress overrode his veto of a measure that would increase by 22.7 per cent the benefits for 11 million veterans of the Vietnam war and the period between the Korean and Vietnam wars.

The vote in the House to override the veto of the bill was 394 to 10. In the Senate, it was 90 to 1. The veto was sharply criticized by senators and representatives of both parties.

"It is not my view that those who bit the bullets in Vietnam should be the first ones to bite the

bullet back at home," said one Senator.

Ford's attempts to cut back veterans funds comes as massive layoffs and other hardships of the current economic crisis bear down particularly hard on veterans, and Black veterans in particular. According to the government, in 1973, unemployment for Black Vietnam veterans between the ages of 20 to 24 was 13.5 per cent, compared with 8.3 per cent among White veterans the same age.

Other Ford vetoes overridden by Congress include a bill restricting government secrecy and a measure providing aid to the handicapped.

The government secrecy bill is designed to make it easier for the public to gain access to government information. It sets a 10-day limit for agencies, such as the Federal Bureau of Investigation, Central Intelligence Agency and Defense Department, to decide whether to supply information; a 2-day limit on determining administrative appeals; and a 30-day limit for the government to reply to lawsuits brought to obtain information.

It also authorizes federal judges to examine documents to decide whether they should be made public; narrows the power of agencies to withhold law enforcement files and requires that an index of documents be kept and be made available to the public. □

NIXON'S FORMER PRESS SECRETARY WINS "GOBBLEDYGOOK" AWARD

(Washington, D.C.) - The bizarre doubletalk used by former President Nixon's administration to fool the public has been recognized by the National Association of Teachers of English. Last week that group awarded former White House Press Secretary Ron Ziegler, the annual "Gobbledygook" prize. It is given to those who most effectively misuse and distort the English language. Ziegler won the award for the following nonsensical answer to a reporter's question concerning Nixon's Watergate tapes:

"I would feel that most of the conversations that took place in those areas of the White House that did have the recording system would in almost their entirety be in existence but the special prosecutor, the court, and I think, the American people are sufficiently familiar with the recording system to know where the recording devices existed and to know the situation in terms of the recording process but I feel, although the process has not been undertaken yet in preparation of the material to abide by the court

INFLATION CRIPPLES BLACK COMMUNITY

(Washington, D.C.) - The current inflation troubling the American economy has had its worst effects on Black and other minority low-income people, according to a study prepared here by the National Urban League (NUL).

Inflation and the Black Consumer, by Robert B. Hill, NUL director of research in Washington (excerpts from this pamphlet appear in the summer 1974 issue of the *Civil Rights Digest*), shows that in 1973 the purchasing power of the average Black family declined by two per cent.

In addition, Hill's study concludes, among other things, that:

(1) The real spendable income of Black families headed by women working full-time just barely kept up with inflation.

(2) The real purchasing power of Black husband - wife families in which the wives were unemployed dropped four per cent between 1972 and 1973.

(3) Black teenagers, with an unemployment rate of 31.9 per cent, were one of the hardest hit groups of workers. White teenagers had an unemployment of 13.3 per cent.

(4) Black adult men, the next hardest hit group of American workers, had an unemployment rate of 7.4 per cent between March, 1973, and March, 1974, up from 5.6 per cent in 1973. For this same time period the unemployment rate for White men remained unchanged at 3.6 per cent. (The national unemployment rate has hit 6.5 per cent, a 13-year high.)

(5) Welfare and food stamp benefits increased at a slower rate than inflation, causing poor and welfare recipients to suffer sharp decreases in their purchasing power in 1973.

A closer look at the NUL study reveals, in Hill's words, that "The Black male breadwinner appears to have been disproportionately hurt by inflation and the energy crisis."

Between March, 1973, and March, 1974, Black men had the largest increase in the number of workers unemployed 15 weeks or more—148,000 in 1974 as compared with 105,000 in 1973, a jump of 41 per cent.

Black women heading families have suffered nearly the same economic fate as Black men. In 1969 six per cent of Black female heads of families were unemployed, but by 1973, the figure rose to 13 per cent.



The Black worker—last hired, first fired—is the main victim of America's faltering economy.

The rise in Black female unemployment can be attributed to a decrease in job opportunities and the unavailability of low-cost child care service.

The persistent decrease in gainful job opportunities for Black female family heads is a major reason why the income gap has widened between Black and White families.

Between 1972 and 1973, the median income of Black families increased by only six per cent (from \$6,864 to \$7,269), while White median family income rose by nine per cent (from \$11,549 to \$12,595).

Hill notes the sharp decline in the standard of living of Black families in 1973. Consumer prices (what you pay when you go to the store) increased 6.2 per cent between 1972 and '73, but Black family gross (before taxes) income increased by only 5.9 per cent. Adjusting Black family income for inflation, Hill dis-

covered that the real gross income of families did not increase at all between 1972 and 1973.

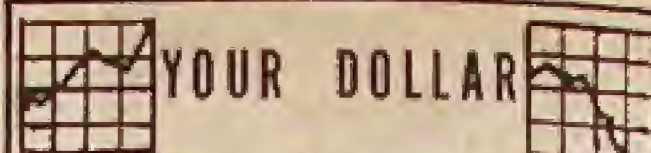
In order to fight inflation's crushing effects on Black and poor communities, the NUL study recommends:

(1) Inner-city areas should be declared economic disasters and special federal funds set aside for their relief.

(2) A widely expanded public service employment program should be established on a continuing basis, with an emphasis on increasing job opportunities for adult breadwinners in Black and poor families.

(3) The cost of child care services should be reduced for working mothers by increasing the number of low-cost day care facilities.

(4) Taxes should be reduced for low-income people in order to stop the decrease in their purchasing power. □



THE STORY BEHIND RISING SUGAR PRICES

The nation's largest sugar company, Amstar, recently raised the wholesale price of sugar to about 72 cents a pound. (The wholesale price is the amount large supermarket chains pay when they order their goods from the producer.)

In the heat of nationwide boycotts and protests, Amstar was forced to slightly reduce its wholesale sugar price down to about 66 cents a pound. We should look for Safeway, A&P, and other stores to sell the sugar to us for about \$1.00 a pound shortly.

Why is the price of sugar and other commonly used goods rising at such a rapid rate? How are prices set in the first place?

In a so-called "free economy," the price of an article is determined by its quantity (supply) and the relative need people show for the article (demand). Add on the costs of labor, manufacturing, materials and what businessmen term an "equitable" (fair) return on their investment, and you supposedly arrive at a fair price for sugar.

This model operates in what is called a "perfect economy"—one operating without monopolies, price-fixing and other manipulations. Amstar, who retails under the Domino label, is a monopoly that does engage in price-fixing.

The forces of supply and demand, not, however, as powerful as those of basic human greed, did play a role in the sudden jump in the cost of sugar. Along with soda pop cans and table salt the United States is experiencing a sugar shortage, too. This might explain certain government moves to open discussions with Cuba. Where this country's sugar supply went to will be the subject of a forthcoming column.



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Fourteen-year-old **TYRONE GUYTON** (right) and his mother, Mrs. **MATTIE SHEPHARD**.

TYRONE GUYTON CASE

DISCLOSURE OF MURDER EVIDENCE SOUGHT

(Oakland, Calif.) - The mother of Tyrone Guyton, a 14-year-old Black youth murdered by three White Emeryville policemen last November, has served legal notice that she will seek a court order for disclosure of evidence in the tragic slaying.

The evidence, which has been withheld from the mother, Mrs. Mattie Shephard, and her attorney, Lew Warden, is being sought in preparation for trial in her \$16 million damage suit against the city of Emeryville and the three policemen involved. A Superior Court hearing is scheduled for December 16.

It was just six days before his 15th birthday, on November 1, 1973, that young Tyrone Guyton was shot twice in the back at close range with a .357 magnum following a pursuit by police for alleged "joyriding." Over 10,000 people have signed petitions favoring the indictment of the three Emeryville police who committed the offense. No charges, however, have been brought against the cops.

The petition filed last week by Mrs. Shephard seeks:

(1) Dispositions from Alameda County District Attorney Lowell Jensen, deputy senior trial attorney Charles Herbert and Emeryville policemen Dale Phillips, Thomas Mierky and William Matthews.

(2) To have the court direct Jensen and Herbert to produce and present all evidence involved in the case.

(3) To compel the three White officers to pose for photographs and answer questions framed specifically for their statements.

The damage suit filed last year by Mrs. Shephard—who also has filed a multi-million dollar damage suit in federal court—charges that the policemen deliberately shot her son as he lay prone, sprawled on the ground less than one block from his home. □

ATTICA DEFENDANTS GO TO COURT

FIRST MAJOR TRIAL OPENS

(Buffalo, N.Y.) - The first major trial stemming from the 1971 Attica prison rebellion opened in Buffalo, N.Y., November 18, with the defense taking the offensive and completely demolishing a key point in the testimony of a prosecution witness.

Defendants Charles Joe Pernasile and John (Dacajaweah) Hill are charged with the fatal



Attica inmates during rebellion—still under attack from racist courts.

beatings of Attica prison guard William Quinn on Sept. 9, 1971, the first day of the rebellion

against inhuman prison conditions.

On Sept. 13, then-Gov. Nelson Rockefeller ordered a massive armed assault on the prison, resulting in the deaths of 29 inmates and 10 hostages. Quinn was the only guard who died who was not shot to death by state troopers. Sixty-two inmates altogether have been indicted on various charges for the carnage caused as a result of Rockefeller's order.

REAL MURDERER

Commenting on this, defense attorney William Kunstler told the *Guardian*: "It is ironic that at the time the real murderer at Attica is being considered for the post of vice president of the United States, two Native Americans who are themselves victims at Attica prison are on trial for the death of the only guard who wasn't shot to death by New York State troopers."

During the first week of hearings, the defense demolished the testimony of Leland Spear, an inmate at the time of the rebellion. A White man from a small upstate town, he was serving a second term for violation of parole on a forgery conviction.

PERPETRATOR

Shortly after the rebellion, Spear described the person beating Quinn as "fairly short of stature" and having "fairly short hair." But nearly three years later, on May 13 this year, Spear "identified" Hill as the perpetrator out of 29 pictures shown him by the state authorities in a motel room.

But the "identification" belied his earlier statement, for Hill had long hair before, during and after the rebellion. During the hearing Spear was shown a photo of Hill 24 days after the rebellion, with moderately long hair.

Spear looked upset when Kunstler asked him: "Did anyone tell you that John Hill was disciplined three days before Sept. 9, for having long hair?"

CONTINUED ON PAGE 22

FEDERAL PROBE DEMANDED INTO TREATMENT OF WOMEN IN NORTH CAROLINA PRISONS

(Raleigh, N.C.) - A case involving a 20-year-old Black woman charged with the murder of a White prison guard she said tried to rape her has prompted a request to U.S. Attorney General William B. Saxbe to investigate alleged abuse of women in North Carolina jails.

In a telegram to Saxbe, Black attorney Reginald Frazier of New Bern, North Carolina, said that there was "serious evidence that hundreds of women, both Black and White, have been subjected to illegal and immoral sexual assaults by jailers and jail trustees where they were confined."

Frazier's request was sparked by the case of Sister Joanne Little. She is standing trial for the August 27 ice pick slaying of a 62-year-old White man, Clarence Alligood, a guard at the Beaufort Jail in Washington, North Carolina. (See THE BLACK PANTHER, November 16, 1974.)

Alligood was found dead in Ms. Little's cell. His body was naked



JOANNE LITTLE, charged with murder of White guard she said tried to rape her.

from the waist down except for his socks, and his shoes were lying in the corridor outside the cell. Sister Little fled the cell but eight days later turned herself in to state authorities at Raleigh.

She had been incarcerated at Beaufort County Jail for three

CONTINUED ON PAGE 22

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RALLY HELD IN SUPPORT OF ELAYNE JONES

(San Francisco, Calif.) - A rally and demonstration against the racist denial of tenure by the all-White, all male, San Francisco Symphony Players Committee to Ms. Elayne Jones, a world renowned tympanist, was held here last week at the San Francisco Opera House.

The December 4 rally was held on the opening night of the new symphony season. Close to 100 high-spirited demonstrators participated, protesting both the denial of tenure to Ms. Jones and demanding that no more public tax funds go to the Symphony Opera Orchestra until her tenure is granted.

The talented Ms. Jones, the only Black woman to be a principal player with any symphony in the world, and nationally acclaimed for her performance as a tympanist, according to the music critic for the *Oakland Tribune*, was the "focal point" of the orchestra on opening night. He states that she played "her kettle drums with a verve and conviction belieing (making false) her peers' negative judgement of her talents."

The Symphony Orchestra Players Committee denied tenure to Ms. Jones, and another non-White artist without warning last May 15, although they granted tenure to all of the six White candidates.

Their actions completely ignored Ms. Jones' talents and experience, which includes graduation from the highly respected Julliard School of Music in New York and ten seasons with renowned conductor Leopold Stokowski's American Symphony Orchestra. Stokowski praised her as being the greatest tympanist player in the world.

When Elayne Jones auditioned for the San Francisco Symphony

Orchestra in 1972, she came out ahead of 40 other competing musicians.

At a December 3 press conference, seven community organizations announced they had come together to form a defense committee for Ms. Jones and had opened an office at 1607 McAllister Street.

Ms. Jones, who has filed a lawsuit charging that she was denied tenure because of her sex and race, summarized her feeling at the press conference saying "I'm tragically disappointed in San Francisco!"

"Although the movement for changes was initiated here," Ms. Jones added, "it does not seem to have touched the lives of many people. Therefore, the overall policies on attitudes remain the same. It is hard to recognize and fight because you are told you are



Ms. ELAYNE JONES, world-renowned tympanist rehearsing at home.

loved but at the same time, you should stay in your place and not be in a position to compete equally. I feel this is the root of my being denied tenure in my job." □

SUPPORT THE COMMITTEE FOR JUSTICE FOR HUEY P. NEWTON

THE COMMITTEE FOR JUSTICE FOR HUEY P. NEWTON is an independent citizens' group made up of a cross-section of attorneys, clergy, students, political activists, and other concerned citizens. The Committee, which was formed in August, 1974, is pressing for a full investigation into the intensifying pattern of attacks by police and federal authorities against Huey P. Newton and the Black Panther Party. For further information contact THE COMMITTEE FOR JUSTICE FOR HUEY P. NEWTON, c/o Community Learning Center, 6118 E. 14th Street, Oakland, California 94621, or call (415) 562-5261.

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SUIT FILED OVER NIXON PARDON

(Washington, D.C.) - A suit was filed recently by C. Edward Laurensen, executive director of the National Association for Justice, challenging the constitutionality of President Ford's unconditional pardon of Richard Nixon. According to the federal pardon regulations, no person is considered for pardon until at least three years from a prison release or three years after a conviction in which no sentence is imposed. □

OUR HEALTH



DIFFERENT KIND OF V.D.

When someone says he or she has VD, many people think of gonorrhea and syphilis. But, there are 14 different kinds of venereal diseases, and one of them is herpes simplex, which is rapidly spreading through many communities.

There are two kinds of herpes. Type one causes the common cold sore that appears on your mouth, eyes, neck or stomach. The type 2 virus is usually the cause of genital herpes. Type 2 herpes is usually transmitted by vaginal, oral or anal intercourse. One of the problems with herpes 2 is that many doctors are not familiar with it and often misdiagnose or ignore it altogether.

An infant who catches the virus from his mother who's infected during pregnancy has only a 25 per cent chance of surviving. And those that survive risk brain damage or blindness. Pregnant women infected with herpes may experience symptoms for as long as three months and their chances of miscarriage or premature delivery are tripled. Herpes has also been connected with cervical cancer in women and prostate cancer in men. Any women who've had genital herpes should have pap tests every six months for the rest of her life.

The first symptoms of genital herpes are itching or burning around the genitals. At the same time small blisters appear, either in clusters or alone. Soon they erupt, forming soft painful sores on a reddish base. The sores burn intensely when touched, when urine passes over them or during intercourse.

In women, the sores usually appear on the vaginal lips, the clitoris, other parts of the vagina or on the cervix. In men, the sores are found on the head of the penis, the shaft, or the anus. Sometimes they are inside the urethra where they can't be seen.

Other symptoms are an aching or severe pain near the infection. Women seem to suffer more from developing fevers, headaches, and an overall sick feeling. They also complain of painful menstruation and difficulty passing urine.

SPEECH DELIVERED AT BOSTON COLLEGE NOVEMBER 18, 1970 BY HUEY P. NEWTON

The following is the conclusion of a speech delivered at Boston College in late 1970 by Huey P. Newton, leader and chief theoretician of the Black Panther Party, which is excerpted from his brilliant book of essays, *To Die For The People*.

CONCLUSION

The ruling circle has launched satellites in order to project a beam across the earth and indoctrinate the world, and while there might be some cultural differences, these differences are not qualitative but quantitative. In other words, if technology and the ruling circle go on as they are now the people of the world will be conditioned to adapt Western values. (I think Japan is a good example.) The differences between people are getting very small, but again that is in the interest of the ruling circle. I do not believe that history can be backtracked. If the world is really that interconnected then we have to acknowledge that and say that in order for the people to be free, they will have to control the

institutions of their community, and have some form of representation in the technological center that they have produced. The United States, in order to correct its robbery of the world, will have to first return much of which it has stolen. I don't see how we can talk about socialism when the problem is world distribution. I think this is what Marx meant when he talked about non-state.

I was at Alex Haley's house some time ago and he talked to me about his search for his past. He found it in Africa but when he returned there shortly afterward, he was in a state of panic. His village hadn't changed very much, but when he went there he saw an old man walking down the road, holding something that he cherished to his ear. It was a small transistor radio that was zeroed in on the British broadcasting network. What I'm trying to say is that mass media plus the development of transportation make it impossible for us to think of ourselves in terms of separate entities, as nations. Do you realize that it only took me approximately five hours to get from San Francisco to here?

It only takes ten hours to get from here to Vietnam. The ruling circle no longer even acknowledges wars; they call them "police actions." They call the riots of the Vietnamese people "domestic disturbance." What I am saying is that the ruling circle must realize and accept the consequences of what they have done. They know that there is only one world, but they are determined to follow the logic of their exploitation.

A short time ago in Detroit, the community was under siege, and now sixteen members of the Party are in prison. The local police laid siege on that community and that house, and they used the same weapons they use in Vietnam (as a matter of fact, two tanks rolled up). The same thing happens in Vietnam because the "police" are there also. The "police" are everywhere and they all wear the same uniform and use the same tools, and have the same purpose: the protection of the ruling circle here in North America. It is true that the world is one community, but we are not satisfied with the concentration of its power. We want the power for the people.



Because America has dominated world culture, there is no basic difference in people of all racial, religious and historical backgrounds.

I said earlier (but I strayed away) that the theory of the "negation of the negation" is valid. Some scholars have been wondering why in Asia, Africa, and Latin America the resistance always seeks the goal of a collective society. They seem not to institute the economy of the capitalist. They seem to jump all the way from feudalism to a collective society, and some people can't understand why. Why won't they follow historical Marxism, or historical materialism? Why won't they go from feudalism to the development of a capitalistic base and finally to socialism? They don't do it because they can't do it. They don't do it for the same reason that the Black community in Harlem cannot develop capitalism, that the Black community in Oakland or San Francisco cannot develop capitalism, because the imperialists have already preempted the field. They have already centralized the wealth. Therefore, in order to deal with them all we can do is liberate our community and then move on them as a collective force.

ARGUMENTS

We've had long arguments with people about our convictions. Before we became conscious we used to call ourselves a dispersed collection of colonies here in North America. And people argued with me all day and all night, asking "How can you possibly be a colony? In order to be a colony you have to have a nation, and you're not a nation, you're a community. You're a dispersed collection of communities." Because the Black Panther Party is not embarrassed to change or admit error, tonight I would like to accept the criticism and say that those critics were absolutely right. We are a

collection of communities just as the Korean people, the Vietnamese people and the Chinese people are a collection of communities — a dispersed collection of communities because we have no superstructure of our own. The only superstructure we have is the superstructure of Wall Street, which all of our labor produced. This is a distorted form of collectivity. Everything's been collected but it's used exclusively in the interest of the ruling circle. This is why the Black Panther Party denounces Black capitalism and says that all we can do is liberate our community, not only in Vietnam but here, not only in Cambodia and the People's Republics of China and Korea but the communities of the world. We must unite as one community and then transform the world into a place where people will be happy, wars will end, the state itself will no longer exist, and we will have communism. But we cannot do this right away. When transformation takes place, when structural change takes place, the result is usually a cultural lag. After the people possess the means of production we will probably not move directly into communism but linger with Revolutionary Intercommunalism until such time as we can wash away bourgeois thought, until such time as we can wash away racism and reactionary thinking, until such time as people are not attached to their nation as a peasant is attached to the soil, until such time as that people can gain their sanity and develop a culture that is "essentially human," that will serve the people instead of some god. Because we cannot avoid contact with each other we will have to develop a value system that will help us function together in harmony.

TO DIE FOR THE PEOPLE

WRITINGS OF
Huey P. Newton



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COMMUNITY PRESSURE SCORES VICTORY IN COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT TUG OF WAR

(Oakland, Calif.) - Amid a state of confusion and awkwardness likened by one speaker to "Alice in Wonderland," the first indications of city government responsiveness to community demands concerning the implementation of the \$12.5 million federal Community Development program took place here last week.

At a packed work session on Friday, December 6, the Oakland City Council unanimously voted to:

(1) Centralize the Community Development program within the structure of the city government within a year to 18 months;

(2) Most importantly, as a first step prior to such centralization, to develop plans for a contract to be worked out with the Oakland Redevelopment Agency to coordinate the Community Development program in the interim.

The vote is, in effect, a victory for the numerous flatland organizations and individuals—including Ms. Elaine Brown of the Black Panther Party—who for the last month have demanded that John B. Williams and his Redevelopment Agency staff head up the new social services program.

The Community Development program will, when implemented, represent the consolidation of a number of formerly autonomous service programs funded by categorical grants from the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development. Set into motion when Congress passed the Housing and Community



Recent Oakland City Council work session in which an overflow crowd of community people demanded that John B. Williams head up a new Community Development program.

Development Act of 1974, the program allows local city governments more leeway, with fewer strings attached, in the use of federal funds to solve blighted and deteriorating conditions for inner-city residents. In the first year of the program, the city of Oakland is scheduled to receive \$12.5 million.

Typically, the local city government has hesitated, half-stepped and delayed taking action on the new program for almost one year, and now in their rush to comply as the deadline nears, have come almost full circle. Open laughter was heard from the audience last Friday as the Council confused themselves

with their own "doublespeak" while working out what had almost become a full blown crisis at top city government levels.

Last January, a motion by Councilman Joe Coto authorized the Oakland Redevelopment Agency (ORA) to develop plans for the implementation of Community Development (CD) in Oakland. Their report, released in June, proposed that it be renamed the Community Development Agency and that it absorb other city programs—including war-on-poverty programs and Model Cities—in a consolidated attack upon Oakland's neglected social and physical problems.

'NIXON AND THE MIAMI CONNECTION'

WHITE HOUSE-ORGANIZED

CRIME CONNECTION EXPOSED

Throughout Richard Nixon's political career, he has had a very close relationship to organized syndicate crime. Nixon's connection with mob figures dates back to his first days in office, in January 1949. His past has been a history of scandal and corruption; of smear campaigns and pro-fascist legislation.

This week, *THE BLACK PANTHER* presents Part 2 of "Nixon and the Miami Connection," excerpted from the newly released book *Big Brother and the Holding Company*, published last month by Ramparts Press.

PART 2

Bebe Rebozo, Nixon's closest friend, is probably the most mysterious. As *Life* said in 1970, "He's the only person Nixon really trusts. He can talk to Rebozo, ask him questions. He knows Bebe will give him honest answers. They can talk about anything. And nothing Nixon says is going to go any further." A man who knows both says, "Bebe and the President can sit together for hours and say practically nothing to each other."

Today Rebozo owns considerable real estate, has a financial interest in several small firms, and owns the only bank on Key Biscayne—the

Key Biscayne Bank. Dubbed the unofficial mayor of the island, Rebozo drives around in his large green Continental with the bumper sticker that reads, "The only issue is America."

While an American (born of Cuban parents) Rebozo has close ties to the pre-Castro Cuban political scene. His business associates have included the former Cuban ambassador to Brazil under Batista, Burke Hedges (a heavy initial in Rebozo's bank), and the former mayor of Havana, Dr. Eduardo Buttari (who ran the "Cubans for Nixon" organization in 1968). Buttari now holds a plush twenty-five-thousand-dollar-a-year job in HEW doing little. According to a reliable source, Buttari—a Cuban refugee—had his citizenship papers okayed rather quickly in August 1971. He claims to have a "great friendship with Nixon and Rebozo."

Among Rebozo's business associates are Dick Fincher and "Big Al" Polizzi. Fincher, who invested in Lummus Island with Rebozo, has been a "character witness" for a number of underworld characters. Polizzi was convicted in 1943 of black market liquor violations arising from his and the Cleveland syndicate's efforts to smuggle rum from Cuba to Key West—with the help of Cuban President Batista.

In 1968 Rebozo chose the Polizzi Construction Company to build a shopping center in the Cuban community in Miami. Among the uncorroborated testimony accumulated by the

Miami Police Department is an intelligence report dated November 13, 1963, which lists the testimony of a gangster informant that Bebe Rebozo ran a numbers racket out of a coin laundry operation—Wash Well—and was "fronting in this operation for ex-Vice President Nixon."

Rebozo's capital for his land purchases came from his wartime service station business, and it was his sideline in tires that brings supposedly unconnected forties careers of Smathers, Nixon and Rebozo into curious intersection. Before the war had broken out, Rebozo was running a Shell gas station which also served as a hangout for such friends as Smathers and Sloan McCrea, a future Nixon finance chairman. By the end of 1941, with gas rationing already in effect for six months, service stations were not good investments. A few weeks after Pearl Harbor, the government banned construction of any new stations.

Nevertheless, just two days after Pearl Harbor, Rebozo purchased the land next to his station to enlarge his facilities. In Washington, the Office of Price Administration (OPA) was one of two agencies charged with managing the tire scarcity. Since original tires were unavailable to the public, recaps and retreads became precious commodities. Bootleggers, thriving on the scarcity, were to enjoy many years of profit.

In the meantime, the OPA's tire rationing division had hired a few young attorneys to

Then, for reasons that remain suspect, the City Council hired (for \$55,000) the services of an outside consultant, Floyd Hyde, to develop another CD implementation plan. Hyde's report sparked a row with the city government by severely criticizing both the Council and the City Manager.



Ms. ELAINE BROWN.

Although his findings were not new, Hyde reported that:

- (1) "The City Council does not consistently establish or adhere to clearly understood policy goals and objectives for the guidance of city government.
- (2) "There is a demonstrable lack of adequate broad-based citizen participation in the development of policies and priority allocation of resources.
- (3) "The city government of Oakland



Oakland city councilmen and other city officials suggesting reorganization of city departments at the November 19 work session.

(Council and staff) have historically tended to avoid direct involvement in federal social-oriented programs. This lack of direct involvement has created serious impediments to responsive and effective government in Oakland."

Hyde ended by proposing that a position of assistant City Manager be created to coordinate the CD program.

Since that report was received and reviewed by the City Council, Mayor Reading has overreacted, suggesting a new reorganization of city departments. A more sensible recommendation, drafted jointly by Cecil Riley, the City Manager, and John Williams, executive director of the Oakland Housing Authority,

suggested the proposed ORA-contract concept the Council tentatively approved last week.

The Council ended last Friday's work session by asking Williams, Riley, Davis and Hyde to report back to them in two to three weeks on the form the contract should take and what other specific programs should be consolidated into the plan.

Under pressure, and ever mindful of the upcoming city elections in April, 1975—in which no incumbent can be too sure he will not be unseated—the Oakland city government finally seems on the way towards finalizing the implementation of a Community Development program in the manner that the community has directed them to. □

BIG BROTHER AND THE HOLDING COMPANY

The World Behind Watergate

EDITOR

Steve Weissman

INTRODUCTION BY

Noam Chomsky



Dade County Defense Council. The chairman of the council and at least one key member had direct links with members of organized crime. And three men who served on the board had ties to Rebozo.

draft the multitude of necessary regulations. On January 9, 1942, Richard Nixon, just a few years out of Duke Law School, went to work in the interpretations unit of the legal section of the tire rationing branch of the OPA. For Nixon, the position must not have been a memorable one.

He concealed his employment at the OPA until he became President. In his official biography in the Congressional Directory for the eightieth Congress, he listed his employer from January to August 1942 as the Office of Emergency Management. While this was not technically incorrect, it is the equivalent of an FBI agent saying he works for the Justice Department.

Charged with enforcing OPA policy on the local levels was the tire allocation board of the

Frank Smathers, father of Rebozo's associate George Smathers; Lucien Renuart of Renuart Lumber, which had loaned Rebozo the money to expand his service station into the profitable tire recapping business; and C W. Chase, Jr., of Chase Savings and Loan Association, which employed Rebozo's sister Margaret Barker in an executive position (and which was a few years later to provide Rebozo with capital for his real estate ventures)—all served in clear violation of OPA policy (3c-118) which stated, "Persons connected with the production or distribution of tires and tubes, or with the recapping or retreading of tires should not be selected to serve on the Boards."

On January 29, 1942, George Smathers was in federal court for the matter of *United States v. Standard Oil of Kansas*, involving U.S.

Customs confiscating American-made tires coming into the country from Cuba in an "attempt to circumvent national tire rationing." When Smathers encountered a delay in the case he sought a ruling from the OPA in Washington on the legality of bringing tires in from Cuba.

OPA records in the National Archives reveal that one of Nixon's duties was handling all correspondence involving tire rationing. It was therefore his responsibility to answer Smathers, and it is relevant to know what he said. Unfortunately, most OPA records were destroyed after the war. The court file for this case is supposed to be in the Atlanta Records Center, but a written request submitted to the clerk of the civil court in Miami on July 6, 1972 has not been honored, despite the usual one-week response time. Contradictory excuses for the delay have been given.

Written questions submitted to President Nixon and Bebe Rebozo have also gone unanswered. Among the relevant questions is whether Miami was one of the regional offices Nixon set up. In the context of their later friendship, one is forced to ask just when did Nixon, Rebozo, and Smathers come into contact with each other, and under what circumstances?

War profiteering was the pastime of Nixon's other yachting host, "Chubby" Wofford. Wofford's hotel was one of the two Miami Beach Hotels allowed to remain open during the war. According to Danner, Wofford made "tons of money" through the Navy's use of this hotel, but "that wild man blew it all away."

TO BE CONTINUED

WOUNDED KNEE DEFENDANTS SCORE VICTORIES IN COURTROOM

(Lincoln, Nebraska) — The release on parole of Sarah Bad Heart Bull and acquittals for four of six Wounded Knee defendants in three separate trials here highlighted the success of Native American organizing activities last month.

The four acquittals bring the total number of dismissals and acquittals in Wounded Knee related trials to 44. Six Native Americans have been convicted by all-White juries.

On November 15, the first Wounded Knee trial to be decided by a jury ended with the acquittal of Stanley Neptone, who was charged with assault on a federal officer.

Six days later, on November 21, federal judge Bruce Van Sickle responded favorably to a defense motion to dismiss charges of larceny and breaking and entering against Rachel White Dress and her daughter, Helen Redfeather.

The conviction of Terry Williams and Manuel Alvarado — Newman Crowells was acquitted — for alleged larceny is being appealed, the Wounded Knee Legal Offense/Defense Committee reports.

Mrs. Bad Heart Bull was released on parole on November 15 from South Dakota Women's Prison in Yankton, where she had been confined since June 1. Her acquittal marks a victory for the American Indian Movement (AIM) which had organized a broad-based "Free Sarah" campaign which included protest demonstrations and the circulation of petitions calling for her immediate release.

Sarah Bad Heart Bull had been arrested for arson when an AIM protest demonstration was attacked by police. In the fight, the Custer (South Dakota) courthouse was burned to the ground. The demonstration was called to protest the refusal by an all-White Custer grand jury to indict the murderer of Mrs. Bad Heart Bull's son.

Also, last week, the joint Strategy and Action Committee (JSAC), a national organization of



Indian woman demonstrator protesting illegal railroad of Wounded Knee defendants.

churches, warns that Native American Indians living on reservations face large-scale starvation this winter unless immediate relief steps are taken.

This critical situation exists, reports JSAC, because of drought, flooding and early morning frost this spring and summer, which have greatly reduced crop yields in the midwest.

Inflation will make things even worse and oil and propane, the fuel used most in government-built reservation housing has gone up drastically. There is fear that most reservation residents will not be able to afford heating fuel this winter.

Groups and individuals are urged to demand relief be sent before the expected emergencies arise. □

\$6 MILLION SUIT FILED FOR ILLEGAL STERILIZATIONS IN LOS ANGELES

(Los Angeles, Calif.) — Three young women who were permanently sterilized without their knowledge while patients at University of Southern California (USC) Medical Center, have filed suit here seeking a \$6 million damage claim against county officials.

The claim seeks \$2 million each for Ms. Melving Hernandez, Ms. Elidia Sylva and Beverly Groves.

All three women say that permission for the sterilization operations, called tubal ligations, was sought while they were in labor pain and under heavy sedation during Caesarean child birth.

REPORT

According to a report compiled by physician-researcher Dr. Bernard Rosenfield, thousands of women, most of them from low-income minority groups, have been victimized by unregulated "voluntary" sterilization, indicating that the County USC Medical Center is in violation of federal guidelines.

The victimized women are usually unaware of the wide range of alternative birth control methods available to them and that the operation is permanent with the chance of surgically



Third World women are the main victims of sterilization policies.

reversing the procedure at some later date relatively slight.

In fact, most of the women are given little, if any, information regarding their sterilizations and many were not even aware they had given permission for the surgery at all. (In an affidavit accompanying the \$6 million damage suit, Ms. Hernandez says that she wore an intrauterine contraceptive for two years when she finally learned she could no longer bear children as a result of a sterilization operation.)

Federal guidelines require that the prospective sterilization patients be:

- Advised prior to giving written consent to sterilization and that no benefits such as welfare checks or child support can be cut off if the person doesn't want to be sterilized.

- Provided with detailed information about sterilization, such as the fact that it is permanent.

- Counseled on alternative forms of birth control besides sterilization. □

LEGISLATED APARTHEID?

(Washington, D.C.) — The House by a vote of 212-170 endorsed an amendment by Rep. Marjorie Holt, Republican from Maryland, which would prohibit \$5.8 billion used by the Department of Health, Education and Welfare to be used to classify or assign students or teachers by race, sex or religion.

Aside from being a step to phase out the school busing program, the measure would sanction, as Rep. Parren Mitchell, a Black Democrat from Maryland, bluntly put it, "a policy of apartheid in American schools." □

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Intercommunal News

RHODESIA TALKS SIGNAL FALL OF SMITH REGIME

TANZANIA, BOTSWANA, ZAMBIA PRESIDENTS CONFER

(Lusaka, Zambia) — Talks here last week among three Black African presidents and two Zimbabwe liberation group leaders may signal the approaching fall of the fascist White-minority Ian Smith government of Rhodesia.

According to the *The New York Times*, Presidents Julius K. Nyerere of Tanzania, Seretse Khama of Botswana and Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia met for the second time in a month with two imprisoned Black nationalist leaders of Rhodesia, whom the government apparently paroled to attend the talks.

The two men are Ndabaningi Sithole, leader of Rhodesia's leading Black revolutionary movement, the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU), and Joshua Nkomo, head of the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU). Both groups are banned by the illegal Smith regime. Sithole and Nkomo have been political prisoners for 10 years.

The Rhodesian government's losing armed struggle with Black nationalist forces led by ZANU was the most likely reason for the parole of Sithole and Nkomo. ZANU and ZAPU are expected to present a united front in any negotiations with the Smith regime.

According to the *Times*, Smith has agreed to a constitutional conference in the near future to discuss how the country can move from White minority to Black majority rule. He is expected to soon go on national television for an important announcement on the country's future.

However, ZANU, in a memorandum to the United Nations Decolonization Committee (see article this page) has stated its opposition to any constitutional conference on the grounds that the current constitution is illegal.

Herbert Chipeto, acting president of ZANU, told a British journalist that ZANU, whose military arm, ZANLA (Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army), has done the bulk of the



heavy fighting in Rhodesia, would not order a cease-fire until Smith agrees to talk to ZANU officials.

Government propaganda to the contrary, the days of the White settler regime in Rhodesia are clearly numbered. ZANLA forces made significant military gains against government forces between May and August of this year.

In the 37 operations carried out during this period by ZANLA forces, they killed 109 enemy troops; destroyed five enemy camps and 17 enemy trucks; shot down three enemy aircraft and damaged another five.

ZANLA forces have been so successful that in the last year the government has been forced to

CONTINUED ON PAGE 22

WESTERN POWERS ATTACKED FOR SUPPORT OF SOUTH AFRICA

The following editorial, reprinted from the *Zimbabwe News*, the official organ of the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU), Zimbabwe's (Rhodesia) leading Black revolutionary organization, reflects on the significance of the United Nations General Assembly's overwhelming decision to oust the Republic of South Africa from the world organization and the veto of that move by the United States, Britain and France in the United Nations Security Council.

"Tuesday night, October 29th, 1974, must go down in the annals of history as an important day to the international community in general and to Africa in particu-

BRITAIN LOSES RIGHTS TO RHODESIA

(United Nations, N.Y.) — A recent memorandum to the United Nations (U.N.) Decolonization Committee attacks Great Britain for "abandoning the Black people of Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) to the fascist Ian Smith White-minority regime and declares that Britain has "abdicated" its right to future administrative powers in Rhodesia.

The memorandum, sent to the U.N. by the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU), the leading Black revolutionary organization in Rhodesia, criticizes Great Britain for failing to stop

the White settlers' Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI) in November, 1965, whereby Ian Smith's Rhodesia Front Party declared Rhodesia independent of Great Britain.

The memorandum states:

"...Britain left (the African people of Zimbabwe) at the mercy of the ravenous settler minority racist clique who immediately pounced on the African people in what they (the racist clique) thought was the last act in a bid to keep the African people under permanent subjugation — they declared unilateral independence.

"...ZANU holds that Britain no longer has the will, the power or the right to initiate a constitutional conference on Zimbabwe."

The memorandum goes on to say that ZANU, "under no circumstances," will negotiate Zimbabwe's independence with the illegal Smith government nor "...with any of its successors who may want to negotiate on the basis of the present illegal constitution."

"POSITIVE AND NEGATIVE"

The memorandum notes the "positive and negative, direct and indirect" effects that the independence of the former Portuguese African colonies of Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau, led by the Black revolutionary movements of FRELIMO (Front for the Liberation of Mozambique) and PAIGC (African Party for the Independence of Guinea-Bissau and the Cape Verde Islands), has had on the liberation struggle in Zimbabwe. Developments in Mozambique are of particular interest to ZANU since Zimbabwe and Mozambique share a common border.

Explaining the positive effects, ZANU told the Decolonization Committee that "the already tottering regime of Ian Smith has been deprived of its essential military and economic support (Portugal) and is becoming more and more isolated...This favorable atmosphere heightens the morale of our fighting forces and...contributes greatly to a further intensification of our war of national liberation..."

On the negative side, the memorandum criticizes the spec-



Zimbabwe protesters.

lar. It is a day when the ugly faces of racism and fascism completely showed their full view.

"On this day, Britain, the United States and France, true to their capitalist nature, used their powers of veto to block a move by the majority of the U.N. Security Council members to expel racist South Africa from the United Nations. The move (which was already overdue) to have South Africa expelled from the world body was motivated by many factors compatible with the aims and principles of the United Nations Charter.

"For many years, the South African racist minority administration has been oppressing the

CONTINUED ON PAGE 18

C.I.A. INVOLVEMENT SUSPECTED IN PORTUGAL

(Lisbon, Portugal) - Recent events in Portugal indicate that the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) is actively and secretly involved in an effort to return fascist rule to the country. A pattern of events similar to those which preceded the fascist takeover of Chile last year has led the Portuguese government to suspect the CIA is the main force behind activities that could lead to a coup.

After spending several months in Portugal this year, *Guardian* journalist Wilfred Burchett reported last week that "it was impossible to ignore the familiar stigmata of CIA manipulation, largely taking the form of trying to provoke the sort of economic chaos that preceded the coup in Chile."

"It was an open secret for diplomats and journalists in Portugal that the CIA set up headquarters on a vessel anchored in Lisbon harbor shortly after the April 25 armed forces coup (which removed fascist dictator Marcello Caetano and his regime)," stated Burchett.

U.S. MONOPOLIES

Reports have been confirmed—following the Chilean pattern—that U.S. monopolies and institutions played a leading role in the two main waves of economic sabotage that took place following the ouster of the Portuguese fascists.

The closing down on September 18 of the ultra-right-wing Portuguese Nationalist Party, which advocated a return to dictatorship, falls within the category of activities defined by President Ford as justifying CIA intervention, wrote Burchett.

As in Chile, the giant U.S. super-monopoly, International Telephone and Telegraph Company (ITT), is a major figure in the attempt to disrupt the Portuguese economy.

Following the April 25 coup, ITT, together with Portugal's largest corporations, conspired to grant big raises, in an effort to start a chain reaction for wages so high that small and medium enterprises would have been driven out of business and their workers thrown on the streets, swelling the ranks of the unemployed by hundreds of thousands.

The second wave of economic sabotage started during the political crisis in mid-July when



Young Portuguese under the watchful eye of the armed forces during the April 25, 1974, coup which removed fascist dictator Marcello Caetano and his regime.

conservative and right-wing elements were excluded from the government and the Armed Forces Movement took over some of the key posts.

Burchett reports that while he was in Lisbon a Portuguese government official showed him scores of stereotyped replies from the leading Portuguese banks—most of them heavily invested with U.S. capital—to small and medium enterprises making routine requests for commercial credits. "Your request cannot

even be considered," was the standard reply.

Burchett writes that, "By mid-August, it was clear that there was a well-orchestrated campaign waged by local monopolies and multinational corporations to produce economic chaos in Portugal. Every attempt by the government to persuade American firms to abide by the new labor regulations and pay the minimum wage was met by protests from the American embassy." □

BRITAIN LOSES RIGHTS TO RHODESIA

CONTINUED FROM PREVIOUS PAGE
ulation going on "in certain circles" that Zimbabwe's path to independence will follow the exact same course as that in Mozambique or in any past or present Portuguese-ruled territory. While Portugal retained control over its African colonies up until the time of independence, the memorandum stated, in Zimbabwe, Great Britain "abdicated her direct responsibilities and control over the settler community in rebel Rhodesia."

Summing up the status of the liberation struggle in Zimbabwe, ZANU concludes:

"...Nothing short of armed struggle can do anything to remedy the situation. It will only be after the White minority settlers have realized that the African people are a force to reckon with and that we are determined to regain our lost sovereignty that they will accept majority rule as the only way to establish racial harmony and permanent peace..." □

FREE BOOKS FOR PRISONERS PROGRAM

(New York, N.Y.) - Seize the Time Bookstore here has implemented a Free Books for Prisoners Program to meet the mounting needs of inmates for relevant reading material.

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AFRICA IN FOCUS



NAMIBIA

Citing an International Court of Justice opinion which declares that South Africa's occupation of Namibia (South West Africa) is illegal, Britain's Foreign Secretary James Callaghan has called on South Africa to pull out of Namibia. The call was issued in the House of Commons during a general review of the Labor government's attitudes toward the rising tide of Black liberation in southern Africa.

SOUTH AFRICA

The South African White-minority regime's efforts to project a more liberal image and prevent a successful armed Black revolution has received a slap in the face from a group of government-selected Black South African leaders. Eight out of the nine heads of South Africa's "homelands" have rejected the deceptive policy of "separate independence" being urged on them by the government, which wants to make the Black homelands independent. The homelands contain 70 per cent of South Africa's population but take up only 13 per cent of the country's poorest land area. Eight of the nine Black leaders, in rejecting the plan, said that to accept would be to "forfeit our right to a full share in the wealth of South Africa as a whole."

ETHIOPIA

A special three-man military tribunal has begun trying former officials of the government of deposed Emperor Haile Selassie on charges of corruption and maladministration. The announcement of the trials was made at the same time new assurances were given to the United Nations that there would be no further summary executions of political prisoners. An editorial in the government-owned *Ethiopian Herald* said that a series of explosions in the capital and near the airport recently were the work of followers of nobility, robber barons and assorted reactionaries and that "brute force" is needed to contain them.



JOHN A. SCALI, U.S. delegate to the U.N., attacking the world body in the General Assembly. Notice the lack of attendance during his address.

U.S. ATTACKS U.N. GENERAL ASSEMBLY

ANGRY OVER GROWING THIRD WORLD UNITY

(United Nations, N.Y.) - The United States' delegate to the United Nations (U.N.), John Scali, attacked and threatened that world body last week and claimed that support for it in Congress and among the American people was eroding.

The angry statement to the General Assembly by the U.S. delegate was undoubtedly made in retaliation to a number of recent Assembly votes unpopular with the U.S. government. The votes demonstrated the rising power and unity of the world body's Third World nations, in

the same arena long dominated by the superpowers.

Scali called the unified voting pattern of the Third World countries a "tyranny of the majority" and threatened that "the minority will cease to respect or obey it." In view of the oppression of ethnic minorities within the U.S., Scali's words had an ironic double-meaning.

Recent Assembly decisions to oust the racist Republic of South Africa—and later, after vetoes by the U.S., Britain and France in the Security Council, to suspend it from activity—and allow Yasir Arafat, leader of the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO), to open debate on the question of Palestine as the legitimate representative of the Palestinians, were cited by Scali as endangering the future of the U.N.

Scali's remarks were taken by observers to mean that the U.S. was threatening to reduce or withdraw its millions of dollars in aid to the world organization.

Meanwhile, in other U.N. activity, under the slogans "Equality, Development and Peace," the U.N. has proclaimed 1975 "International Women's Year." The entire year will be devoted to publicizing women's status in nearly every country and to outlining a wide range of democratic rights for women, which governments will be urged to put into practice.

Under "Equality," the U.N. will recommend full rights for women under the law, in health, in the economy, in the family, and in "decision-making" at all levels of government.

Under "Development," the U.N. will urge improved education, communication, living and working conditions (particularly in rural areas) and stepped-up efforts at training women in all fields.

Under "Peace," the world body will urge women's groups around the world to promote peace and cooperation among states through such measures as combating colonialism, neocolonialism, foreign domination and alien subjugation; apartheid and racial discrimination; the realization of the principle of the right of people to self-determination "and publicizing the U.N. Charter and principles of international law." The influence of the superpowers—the U.S., Soviet Union, France and England—

CONTINUED ON PAGE 22

WOMEN CONTINUE STRUGGLE FOR EQUALITY IN GUINEA-BISSAU

(Inside Guinea-Bissau)—As the Republic of Guinea-Bissau enters its third month of formal independence from Portugal, the struggle for women's rights and equality continues on, much as it did during the 11 years of armed struggle.

Before starting to fight Portugal in 1963, the African

Party for the Independence of Guinea-Bissau and the Cape Verde Islands (PAIGC), which led the country to victory over Portugal, conducted an intensive political education program among the masses of Black people in the countryside.

This program was designed to raise the people's consciousness in preparation for armed struggle and included a discussion of the role of women and the need to move away from traditional tribal customs.

Each village elected a village council to form the local government and work to support the armed struggles. The PAIGC directed that at least two of the five council members be women. Thus, from the beginning, women assumed leadership positions at the village level which today extends to offices in the national government.

On a recent visit to Guinea-Bissau, the *Guardian* interviewed several leading women in the PAIGC. Bwetna N'dubi, a Balante peasant and

regional deputy to the National Assembly, said:

"At the beginning of mobilization I first heard about women's rights. I understood, that equality is necessary and possible ... we have to fight twice — once to convince women and the second time to convince men that women have to have the same rights as men."

Three customs in the traditional society of Guinea-Bissau which violate the revolutionary principles of the PAIGC are forced marriage, polygamy (the marriage of a man to more than one woman), and women's inability to get divorce. While the PAIGC is working to eliminate these customs, progress is slow.

"You cannot change all the customs overnight. They will turn against you," Fidelis Almada, commissioner of justice, told the *Guardian*.

The effective political organizing of PAIGC, changing patterns of village life, and the

CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE



LSM's AFRICA Liberation Calendar 1975

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Two African women on the eastern front in Guinea-Bissau before liberation, preparing food for soldiers. One woman bears child on her back in traditional fashion.

WESTERN POWERS ATTACKED

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 15

over 18 million African people in Azania (South Africa). The Boers have been ruthless in this ignoble exercise. They have locked thousands of Africans, who have opposed their fascist policies, in jails, detention camps, concentration camps, etc. and condemned many to exile. Many innocent Africans have been cold-bloodedly murdered.

"South Africa has made no secret of her brutal treatment of Africans. Many people in the world who have at heart the interests of humanity have condemned her racial policies. The progressive communities of the world were shocked with the Sharpeville massacre. They have continued to be shocked by her inhuman treatment of the Black people by the racist Boers.

"South Africa has sent her troops to rebel fascist Rhodesia (Zimbabwe), to assist Ian Smith to suppress the African people of Zimbabwe. In short, South Africa is indeed a big threat to international security. She has paid no heed to the principles and objectives of the United Nations Charter. How then can she continue to be a member of an organization whose aims and objectives she is in conflict with?

VIOLATION

"How can Britain, the United States and France, who helped found the United Nations, support the violation of its principles? These countries pay lip service to the purposes of the U.N.

"The action by Britain, the United States and France should serve as a reminder to Africa to treat overtures for friendship from Britain, the United States and France with absolute caution.

"It is also time that the rest of the world took another serious look at the power of veto which has been abused several times by Britain, the United States and France. The power of veto which allows any of the five permanent members of the U.N. Security Council to prevent by its sole vote the taking of a decision which has the support of a majority of the Security Council members has outlived its usefulness. It is now absurd and contrary to the principles of the sovereignty and equality of all states. This power of veto must be abolished in the interests of all mankind, and to fit in with the times."



A physical fitness class in Guinea-Bissau.

WOMEN CONTINUE STRUGGLE

CONTINUED FROM PREVIOUS PAGE

establishment of divorce in the People's Courts has virtually done away with forced marriage.

A woman can now divorce her husband through the village People's Courts. If she had no voice in the choice of her husband, she can get a divorce on that ground alone.

Polygamy, on the other hand, is proving to be a more difficult custom to eliminate. The PAIGC forbids polygamy among its members while it slowly works to end the custom among the masses of people.

During the early days of the armed struggle, women fought the Portuguese alongside the men. However, the PAIGC later decided that women fighters were

not necessary because Guinea-Bissau is a small country and more men wanted to join the army than were needed. However, today's youth in the country may decide on a different policy in the future.

The women of Guinea-Bissau are entering all fields of work: heads of hospitals as well as nurses, directors of schools as well as teachers, radio communications workers and political commissars.

Equality will not come without a long struggle, a struggle among the people to change both men's and women's attitudes. In the words of assassinated founder and leader of the PAIGC, Amilcar Cabral, "We cannot have a successful revolution without the full participation of women." □

WORLD SCOPE



LATIN AMERICA

Twenty Latin American sugar exporting countries, who account for 61.1% of the world's sugar exports, have agreed to form a union to protect sugar prices. The decision was made at a meeting held on Cozumel Island in Mexico on November 25 and 26. Francisco Cano Escalante, president of the meeting and an executive member of the Mexican National Sugar Industry Commission, explained that the union will set up economic talks for the purpose of exchanging statistics and market information useful to the group in making decisions.

PUERTO RICO

An International Telephone and Telegraph Corporation (ITT) office, Burger King restaurant and several U.S. Army reserve vehicles were severely damaged in a series of bomb blasts last week in San Juan, Puerto Rico. The bombings appeared to be in response to the U.S. puppet government's calling out of the National Guard to harass striking workers of the government-owned Aqueduct and Sewers Authority. The Aqueduct and Sewers Authority Workers Union has received strong support from the Puerto Rican Socialist Party, which, along with other groups, spearheads the country's drive for independence from the U.S.

CANADA, UNITED STATES

Canadian Prime Minister Elliott Trudeau told President Ford last week that Canada will cut back its oil exports to the U.S. Trudeau was in Washington for two days of talks with Ford. Canada's growing concern about its own oil supply is said to be the reason behind its decision, which is negotiable, to reduce oil shipments to America.

CUBA

Cuban Premier Fidel Castro says that his country is willing but not eager to sell sugar to the United States. In a speech to the Federation of Cuban Women, Premier Castro said that some agreement could probably be worked out if the U.S. wants to buy Cuban sugar.

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beautiful African Land.
Heed the calling of you to come
home.
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you back, back to Sweet Africa
the beginning.
Feel me grow know that we still
grow together.
Understand what I am, I AM
POWER, I AM WISDOM, I AM
TRUTH.
But remember I can be hard, I
can be cold, I can be rude, I can
be Bold.
I can be the whore on the corner
bringing the money to my Sugar
Man.
I can be the hype, sitting around
in a nod, not knowing or even
caring whether I was dead or
alive.
But we've chosed to be Re-
volutionaries
And I've promised to protect and
defend you in our fight for long
over do freedom.
FEEL ME, HOLD ME, TRUST
ME
FOR I AM YOU.

BROTHERMAN

Brotherman
My man
Always have been My Man
And Always will be My Man
Do you remember when we first
met?
You was sitting there by the
Euphrates River
Stripped of your Pride
I Kiss your tears away
I took your hand and placed it in
mine
And we Became as one
My Man
Blackman
"I LOVE YOU"

Both poems are by
Mashariki (mosetta orange)
Pasco, Washington

MOVIE REVIEW

"THE KLANSMEN" OFFENDS BIGOTS

(Oakland, Calif.) — *The Klansmen* is basically a good film, although some reviewers have blasted it for being trashy and vulgar. It is understandable that White bigots and defenders of the status quo would feel offended by the movie's message.

The message constitutes both a warning and a prediction. It is a warning to diehard White racists that if they fail to stop their ill treatment of Black people, they will face destruction at the hands of the oppressed Black masses, who are growing sick and tired of being trampled on all their lives. The prediction is that unless Blacks receive a better break from America fast, they will rise up in arms to take their freedom.

The message is hatched out in several sub-plots which reveal much of the twisted psychology of the deep South. Rape, which seems to greatly occupy the minds of the poor racists in this small Alabama community, occurs three times in the film.



O.J. SIMPSON holds a gun on RICHARD BURTON while LOLA FALANA looks on.

In the first rape, several poor White men are standing around in a circle receiving enjoyment from watching a big Black man in the middle trying to rape a defenseless sister in return for a dollar in pay.

In the second rape scene, the big Black man does what the

racists never expected "their boy" to do. He secretly rapes one of their wives. When the White woman fails to hide her head in shame, her grieved and disgraced husband leaves town. The woman, herself, is banned from the town, and even its good Christian church, whose reverend, incidentally, is a member of the Klan.

THIRD RAPE

In the third rape scene, a pack of Klansmen carry Lola Falana, a civil rights worker who has returned home from Chicago to visit her sick mother, off into the night and one Klansman rapes her as a warning, he claims, "to the niggers" that they better stay in their places. It is clear, though, that all the Klansmen really wanted was to engage in sex with a Black woman.

Following the rape of the White woman, the pack of Klansmen are out for revenge. Upon seeing O.J. Simpson and his partner walking along the road, they give chase and succeed in catching O.J.'s partner whom they castrate and then shoot. Following the gory spectacle, which O.J. witnesses from hiding, O.J. secretly starts to gun down the Klansmen who participated in the atrocity at various opportune occasions.

One such occasion is a voting rights rally which the racists are deeply upset about — niggers with the right to vote could take over this town, they reason. Soon after knocking off one of the Klansmen, O.J. pops up in Richard Burton's jeep and places a gun to Burton's head. Burton, the local liberal, is accompanied by Ms. Falana. O.J. then starts explaining to these "bourgeois" liberals that Black people will have to take up arms to win their freedom.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 20



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ADJUSTMENT CENTER PRISONERS BYPASSED

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 3

asserting that their continued confinement in the Adjustment Center violates their Eighth Amendment rights and is "cruel and unusual punishment.") We have legitimate and substantive grievances that will eventually shock the senses of the public conscience once exposed and become known to it.

The prison dictatorship has no better alternative than to hide us from public view and to suppress our voice.

IMPOTENT

It (the prison administration) is impotent to offer positive solutions to our problems and to our needs that do not conflict with its own self-aggrandizing interests of expansion and exploitation of the bodies under its care.

In all honesty, we the undersigned must view all politicians and state controlled governing bodies with suspicion and also skepticism.

We do not look to you to deliver us from the injustices we feel nor to solve all or any of our real problems. We do encourage you to get a complete view of what really is happening here at this camp, and do not allow yourself to be misled by the administrative clique in misrepresenting, discrediting and demeaning us, without us, the undersigned, having the full opportunity to be heard. Right on!

- 1. Johnny Spain B-8572
- 2. Fleeta Drumgo B-10837
- 3. Guillermo Bermudez B-44120
- 4. Ramon Amads A-40709
- 5. Norman Lucas B-46852
- 6. W.N.J. Reeves B-16869
- 7. David Johnson B-16381
- 8.
- 9.
- 10. Luis Talamantez A93537
- 11. Mike Mulhern A-73660
- 12. Anthony M. Moreno
- 13. Ruchell C. Magee A-92051
- 14. Aalelohi V. Whittey B-22740
- 15. Willie Tate
- 16. Ronnie Lee Clark B36025
- 17.

(Two prisoners unable to sign because of mental distress; another absent. Floor cell capacity: 17 men.)

REGISTER
TO
VOTE

EDUCATION FOR WHAT?

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 2

Rather, I am focussing on a process. I believe we must be committed to an education which will create in our children, our young people and our adults a commitment to the process of beginning to ask new, creative, disciplined and difficult questions about themselves, their schools, their nation and their world. In a society which seeks to gloss over and deny all fundamental differences and to ignore its major inequities, it is obvious that the very insistence on raising and pursuing such questions would be necessarily disruptive—in the best and most desirable sense of that word.

Education for what? I say education which will release and encourage ferment, which will engender dissatisfaction with what is and develop painfully honed visions of the possibilities which humans may yet create for the good of their society. Education for transformation; that is what I think our kind of education ought to be about. Nor do I use that word lightly or loosely. I speak of an education which will help our children to see America as it is, an education which will not hide harsh truths from them (realities they already see more clearly than we do); but which will help them to understand why such things exist rather than

justifying them, censoring them out, or cynically accepting social evil and exploitation as if there were no other alternatives for humankind.

It is an education which will prepare them not "to make it" or "get over" in an unjust society, not mindlessly to obtain "skills" without values, thereby becoming marketable commodities or well-armed mercenaries. Rather, I speak of an education which will urge them to *rethink themselves and everything else around them*, an education which will allow them no false peace, which will demand that they make real, hard decisions about their lives and



their commitments. An education which ultimately will press them to help create the next stages of the struggle for a more humane, more just, more truly democratic society. □

"THE KLANSMEN"

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 19

It soon becomes apparent that if the liberals fail to side with the Klan, they will have to take up arms to defend themselves from the Klan.



A member of the Klan.

In the final bloody scenes, the liberals, including Lee Marvin, an unbelievably liberal sheriff, and some Blacks are forced to defend themselves, and Burton's land, from the invading, trigger-happy, torch-carrying Klan. During the battle, O.J. is up in the trees, steadily picking off Klansmen.

When the smoke clears, all the Klansmen are dead, but so are Burton and the sheriff. O.J. is then seen walking triumphantly off into the night with his rifle held high, as though he were going on to fight and win another battle. □

B.B.

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SPORTS

WHITHER FRANK ROBINSON?

COMMENT ON BASEBALL'S FIRST BLACK MANAGER

The article which follows, written by Paul Hoch, a professor of humanities at Montreal's Dawson College, presents a sound line of reasoning concerning the recent hiring of Brother Frank Robinson as the first Black manager in baseball. Because of the mixed emotions this article will undoubtedly arouse, letters both pro and con would be appreciated.

According to the mass media, the signing of Frank Robinson to manage the Cleveland Indians next year marks a tremendous advance in the life of every Black American. Certainly it doesn't hurt to have a Black manager in baseball (at long last.) But how much has really changed.

The power structure that actually controls the game—the owners, general managers and the league commissioner—still remains lily White. A preponderance of the game's "stars" remain Black. Thus, what we might call the plantation system (of Black field hands on the bottom, and White straw bosses at the top) remains in full force. All that has changed is that one of the overseers is now Black.

Still, it might be argued, that this in itself marks a tremendous change, even if it is largely a symbolic one. Fair enough, but

the fact remains that the way in which symbols are used (according to Humpty Dumpty in Lewis Carroll's *Through The Looking Glass*) depends on who has the power. For example, what will Frank Robinson do if the players (or even just the Black players) on the Cleveland Indians go on strike?

Will he side with the players (including his fellow Black players)? Or will he side with the White millionaire who pays his salary?

No doubt, you'd say, it will depend on the issue. Quite correct. But, we should perhaps remember, that in recent years Frank Robinson has been fairly careful about what he says, particularly careful about not criticizing the White power structure of baseball. Again, this was no doubt just good common sense. The White power structure, in baseball and elsewhere, is not noted for the frequency with which it hires Black militants.

Frank Robinson, you might say, was hired in large part because he kept his nose clean. Which, power realities being what they are, may not be any reason to condemn him out of hand. But, nor is it any reason to romanticize him either.

There are millions of Black people living on the continent of Africa who were duped into believing that the millenia was here because the color of their rulers apparently changed from White to Black. No doubt some improvements were made. (Colonialism being the slaughterhouse that it was, almost anything would have been an improvement.)

But the fact is that in most of the supposedly "independent" countries of Black Africa, the tune is in reality being called by businessmen in New York, London and Paris. The color of the puppet overseer has indeed been changed. The puppet master has not changed. And business continues as usual, with millions and millions of dollars of African resources flowing into the capitalist corporations of the West every year.

Thus, it can sometimes be dangerous to identify with the color of one's overseer. It's usually better to evaluate carefully whether the overseer's actions benefit the people under him. It is better still to abolish the overseer role wherever possible, or at least to be damn sure the overseer is on your side before you put your faith in him.

The Cleveland Indians had the first Black player in the American League, namely Larry Doby. (Indeed it is significant that Robinson got the managing job this year over the much more militant Doby.) Since most of Cleveland's population is Black,



FRANK ROBINSON—Will he side with the owners or the players?

the team's White owner made millions of dollars off of Doby and other Black players' popularity with the Black fans. No doubt the brass expects to make more millions off of Robinson.

Basically, this money will come out of the pocket of Black fans and into the pocket of the team's White owner. The Black community certainly won't get richer this way.

One might hope that the symbolic value of the hiring of Robinson will help other qualified Blacks in all walks of American life to get the jobs they deserve. One would, of course, also hope that once in these professional jobs these brothers will identify with the aims and aspirations of the rest of the Black community, and not allow themselves to be used by the existing power structure. Neocolonialism is no solution, even in baseball.



ARCHIE GRIFFIN WINS M.V.P. TROPHY

(New York, N.Y.) - ARCHIE GRIFFIN, the swift and powerful running back who was the heart of Ohio State's mighty ground attack, has been named the winner of the 1974 Heisman Trophy as the outstanding college football player in the country. Although relatively small in size—5 feet, 9 inches tall, 185 pounds—Griffin galloped and bruised his way for 1,640 yards to lead the nation in rushing, and in the process set an NCAA record by gaining over 100 yards in an incredible 22 consecutive games. Only the fifth junior in 40 years to win the coveted Heisman Trophy, Griffin led the 40 years to win the coveted Heisman Trophy. Griffin led the Buckeyes to a 10-1 record and a third straight trip to the Rose Bowl on January 1. According to Woody Hayes, Griffin's coach, "I've never had a player like him."

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ATTICA DEFENDANTS GO TO COURT

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 9

"No, they didn't," Spear answered.

The obviously phony identification of Hill points to one of the most serious obstacles the Attica Brothers face.

The 4000 men who were Attica inmates in September, 1971, are the main source of witnesses. Prisoners who cooperate with the prosecution are in line for parole. Those who refuse or who cooperate with the defense by telling the truth face severe repressive measures while in jail and have practically no hope of parole. Paroled ex-prisoners who cooperate with the defense face certain return to jail for "violation of parole" on any manufactured pretext.

"ARMED CAMP TACTICS"

During the first week of hearings, the defense also challenged the "armed camp tactics" in the courtroom. Kunstler demanded that the double-layered eight-foot-high chain-mesh structure that completely sealed off the courtroom be removed.

This structure, with a door that could be unlocked only by a deputy sheriff, Kunstler said, "could prejudice the jury (yet to be selected)." It "will look as though they were coming to see wild animals," he said.

Hill added: "The jurors will look at us as though we are not human beings."

In addition to the mesh structure, all who enter the court are required to sign a register, go through a metal detector, be searched and remove their coats while in the courtroom.

Since both defendants have been out on bail since August 1973 and are free to enter or leave the court without escort and to walk the streets, observers have pointed out that the only possible purpose of these security measures is to intimidate and prejudice supporters of the defendants and the public at large. □

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Demonstrators in front of Beaufort County courthouse protesting North Carolina's efforts to strip away Sister Joanne Little's right to defend herself against rape.

PROBE DEMANDED INTO NORTH CAROLINA PRISONS

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 9

months pending an appeal of a conviction for breaking and entering.

As the only woman and as a Black woman in a jail with all-White guards, Sister Little was an easy prey for a sadistic sexual attack. She explained that Alligood had made repeated sexual advances toward her and that she killed him with her own ice pick when he entered her cell and tried to rape her in the early morning hours of August 27.

Dr. Harry M. Carpenter Beaufort County medical examiner, said in his autopsy report that there was clear evidence of recent sexual activity by Alligood.

Despite the evidence in the case, a Beaufort County — which is located in eastern North Carolina where anti-Black feelings are strong — grand jury indicted Ms. Little for first degree murder on September 11. She is pleading murder in self-defense.

The issue of a woman's right to self-defense against rape made national headlines throughout the recent rape-murder case of Inez Garcia in Monterey, California. (See THE BLACK PANTHER, November 9, 1974.) Ms. Garcia, who killed a man whom she said helped to rape her, was convicted of second degree murder and sentenced to serve a prison term of from five years to life.

Since Ms. Garcia's conviction, several cases have been reported in the newspapers involving women charged with killing or injuring their accused rapists. The issue of women's rights to self-defense against rape will not quickly be resolved as it is firmly rooted in the backwards, sexist attitudes of American society. However, the fact that Ms. Garcia had nationwide support from numerous women liberation groups, along with Frazier's telegram to Saxbe, are

indications that new attitudes are forming.

Sister Little's attorneys, who are working for free, report that an adequate legal defense will

cost \$20,000. Contributions may be sent to the Joanne Little Defense fund, P.O. Box 1003, Durham, North Carolina 27702. □

RHODESIA TALKS SIGNAL FALL

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 15

create a system of protected villages in the tribal trust lands along the northeastern border in an effort to disperse support for ZANLA and to create free fire zones.

Other major factors contributing to the decline of the Smith regime are the emergence of a Black-ruled government in neighboring Mozambique led by the Front for the Liberation of Mozambique (FRELIMO) — which may impose serious economic sanctions against Rhodesia — and South Africa's uncertain support.

U.S. THREATENS U.N.

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 17

resulted in the inclusion of "detente" as one of the issues vital to women.

The highlight of the year will be an international conference in Mexico City from June 23 to July 4, which some 2,000 to 3,000 people are expected to attend.

Also, in other U.N. business last week, heated debate arose between the People's Republic of China and the Soviet Union over a bid supported mainly by Third World nations to reverse the 29-year-old U.N. Charter. The proposed change in the Charter would in essence break the virtual monopoly on decision-making by four of the five permanent members of the Security Council — the U.S., Soviet Union, France, England and the People's Republic of China. People's China is the only Security Council member to side with the Third World — as it

always does — and back the proposed Charter revision.

Small and medium sized countries seeking Charter revision would either weaken the permanent members' power to veto Security Council resolutions, or broaden that body, which at present consists of 15 nations, by introducing new members, possibly permanent members.

The Charter revision is strongly opposed by the U.S. and the Soviet Union, both of which are expected to veto any proposed changes in the Charter.

China's U.N. delegate Chih-yuan said that the Third World countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America accounted now for three-quarters of the U.N. membership of 138. Chih-yuan noted that these countries, long powerless in international affairs, wanted to eliminate superpower control. □

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(Being Implemented)

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—Huey P. Newton

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